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STATINTL

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INTERVIEW WITH ALLEN DULLES
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JULIAN BARBER: "A highly speculative but frequently heard opinion is that the United States and the Soviet Union will some day be allied in a nuclear war against Red China. As a special assignment, Sam Donaldson talked at length today with one of the foremost students of the Sino-Russian ideological split. He is Allen Dulles, former chief of the CIA. We will join them in just a moment at Mr. Dulles' home in Northwest Washington...

MR. DULLES AND MR. DONALDSON WERE SEEN.

DONALDSON: "The Moscow-Peking split can no longer be classed as a minor family quarrel. It is rapidly reaching the point where basic realignments in world power could result. In a New Year's Eve editorial the official Red Chinese newspaper spelled out the differences as never before. One writer has branded this declaration as the hurling down of the gauntlet in a struggle for leadership of world communism. One of the foremost students of this struggle is Allen Dulles, former chief of the Central Intelligence Agency. Before retiring in 1961, he was constantly evaluating this situation.

"Mr. Dulles, we realize you are speaking as a private citizen today, but I think your experience of many many years would certainly be beneficial in understanding what's happening. When did the first evidence of this split begin to emerge?"

DULLES: "Mr. Donaldson, it really became apparent about three years ago that there was a difference in approach to their respective objectives by Soviet Russia and Communist China."

DONALDSON: "Well, now, if the two countries were once in accord and then began to split, who did the moving?"

DULLES: "Well, I think the seeds of the moving really go back to the de-Stalinization program of Khrushchev. Well, the Mao leadership had followed the Stalinist line, and therefore when Khrushchev made his famous speech in which he told of the sins of

the two potential antagonists together, rather than keep them growing further apart."

- 2 -

Stalin, and struck off on a new line, I think that was really the seeds which have now been growing into a plant and into a flower of difference between the two."

DONALDSON: "Mao Tse-Tung says a thermo-nuclear war is not to be feared really because he thinks it would mean the downfall of capitalism and not the downfall of mankind. How can he take this attitude?"

DULLES: "Well, some people have said, you know, that there are 600-odd million people in China, and therefore that they could stand a thermo-nuclear war better than the rest of us. It's not a very comforting doctrine but that has often been attributed to the Chinese Communist type of thinking in this field."

DONALDSON: "You've been in intelligence all your life. Mao Tse-Tung also said in this editorial that the United States was a paper tiger and was not to be feared even though we have nuclear power. Now is this a result of faulty intelligence on his part?"

DULLES: "I think it's propaganda. I think that is--I think that he feels is good to present to his own people. I doubt whether he really believes it."

DONALDSON: "How about this business of revisionism that Mao Tse-Tung also accuses Moscow, through intermediaries, of practicing? Do you think that it will continue that the Khrushchev line will become mellowed and less militant?"

DULLES: "Well, Khrushchev these days is preaching co-existence, and I feel that Khrushchev believes that the ends he wants to achieve, which may not differ so much from the ends that Mao wants to achieve, but the ends that Khrushchev sees can be achieved through the line of co-existence, because, remember, Khrushchev still preaches wars of liberation, and that he encourages wars of liberation, but he's not taking the hard Stalinist line that it is thru war itself and thru promoting wars that you achieve your objectives."

DONALDSON: "What, if anything, could the United States or the West do to try to cause this split to become wider? Is it in our interest to see it become wider?"

DULLES: "Well, I think that as far as the United States is concerned--I'm speaking as you said, purely as a private citizen--I think it's generally wise when two potential antagonists of yours are contesting together not to get into this scrap. I think it's well that we should observe it, we should watch it, we should study it, we should see the implications of it, but I think that if we should line up on one side or the other, that would tend to bring the two potential antagonists together, rather than keep them growing further apart."

- 3 -

DONALDSON: "Mr. Dulles--excuse me--this question then follows--do you foresee the day when the United States and the Soviet Union would ever be allied against Red China?"

DULLES: "Well, that's a long time that you refer to there, and one can't really project one's thinking that far into the future, but as long as each of them follows the communist dogma, even though the dogma differs in China, Communist China, and in Soviet Union, I doubt whether what you suggest would come about.

I'm inclined to feel that they will each continue along their separate ways to achieve the objectives, which, after all, is the objective that Khrushchev has preached, that eventually they will bury us, eventually their system will prove better, but they propose to do it in different ways."